## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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PR 291412Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8401
INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 1789

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CASC (SMUTS, SMITH, HUNTER)

SUBJECT: KIDNAPPED AMERICANS: ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR

- 1. THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN AMCONSUL MACFARLANE IN KIGOMA AND ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR TO TANZANIA, M'SIRI MUKANDA-BANTU MWANDA, WAS FORWARDED TO US BY SAFE HAND MAY 28:
- 2. QUOTE: ON THE MORNING OF MAY 27, I PAID A BRIEF CALL ON AMBASSADOR MWANDA AT HIS TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS AT THE KIGOMA HOTEL; THIS MEMORANDUM SUMMARIZES THE MAIN POINTS OF THAT CONVERSATION AND OF A SUBSEQUENT MEETING (BOTH CONDUCTED IN FRENCH) LATER IN THE DAY.

A. CONDITIONS FOR RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. THE AMBAS-SADOR HAD STILL SEEN NO OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION FROM THE REBELS REGARDING THEIR DEMANDS. I EXPLAINED THAT A LETTER ADDRESSED PERSONALLY TO HIM HAD BEEN HANDED TO AMBASSADOR CARTER IN DAR ES SALAAM BY BARBARA SMUTS, AND THAT WE WANTED TO KNOW HIS DESIRES RE THE DISPOSITION OF THE LETTER. AMBASSADOR MWANDA SAID THAT, RATHER THAN SEND THE LETTER TO THE ZAIRE CONFIDENTIAL

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EMBASSY IN DAR, IT SHOULD BE FORWARDED TO HIM DIRECTLY AS

SOON AS POSSIBLE. I SAID I WOULD ARRANGE TO HAVE IT FLOWN
TO KIGOMA MAY 28. THE AMBASSADOR'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONDITIONS OF RELEASE PURPORTEDLY WAS LIMITED TO WHAT HE HAD HEARD
VIA THE MEDIA--THE THREE DEMANDS AND THE SIXTY-DAY LIMIT-AND I DID NOT VENTURE TO GO FURTHER INTO THE MATTER WITH HIM.
B. ZAIRE-TANZANIAN RELATIONS. RELATIONS ARE GENERALLY GOOD,
HE SAID, BUT THE KIGOMA AREA PRESENTS A SPECIAL SET OF PROBLEMS. THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES HAVE ENCOURAGED AND ABETTED
SMUGGLING ACROSS THE LAKE, WHICH HAS NOT ONLY ASSISTED THE
REBELS IN THE SOUTHERN KIVU-NORTHERN SHABA AREA BUT HAS ALSO
HURT THE ECONOMIES OF BOTH COUNTRIES. THE AMBASSADOR VOLUNTEERED
THAT MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL POLICE ARE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN THIS.
(COMMENT: WE HAVE ALSO HEARD FROM A VARIETY OF EXPATRIATE
SOURCES THAT MEMBERS OF THE ZAIRE CG IN KIGOMA ARE ALSO INVOLVED IN SMUGGLING.)

C. STATUS OF THE REBELLION. THE AMBASSADOR EXUDED CONFIDENCE IN DISCUSSING THE MILITARY SITUATION ACROSS THE LAKE. THE REBELS ARE NOW "ENCIRCLED" BY GOZ FORCES AND ARE FORCED TO RELY ON WHAT WEAPONS THEY ALREADY HAVE PLUS WHAT THEY CAN ILLEGALLY PROCURE OR PURCHASE ON THE TANZANIAN SIDE. NOW THAT ZAIRE HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL MAJOR POWERS, THE REBELS ARE NO LONGER BEING SUPPORTED BY ANY OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT. THE MOVEMENT'S DAYS--NOT WITHSTANDING THE TANZANIA CONNECTION--ARE THERFORE NECESSARILY NUMBERED. I NOTED THIS OPTIMISM, EXPRESSING DOUBT HOWEVER THAT ONE COULD REALISTICALLY EXPECT ANY MAJOR CHANGE OVER, SAY, THE NEXT SIXTY DAYS, HE REPLIED THAT HE FELT THE REBELS WERE ON THEIR LAST LEGS AND THAT THEIR RESISTANCE MIGHT END "EVEN WITHIN 30 OR 45 DAYS." COMMENT: WE HAVE TALKED TO ABSOLUTELY NO ONE ELSE HERE WHO SHARES THAT VIEW. TANZANIANS AND EXPATRIATES CONSULTED APPEAR TO BELIEVE TO A MAN THAT THE REBELS IN FIZI-BARAKA AND SOUTH. WHO HAVE CONTROLLED MUCH OF THAT TERRAIN FOR OVER A DECADE, ARE WELL ORGANIZED, SOLIDLY BASED AMONG THE WABEMBE, AND FACE NO IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM THE GOZ. I COULD NOT JUDGE ON THE BASIS OF TWO BRIEF MEETINS WHETHER THE AMBASSADOR IN FACT IS AS OPTIMISTIC AS HE PROFESSED TO BE, OR MERLY PUTTING FORTH THE OFFICIAL GOZ LINE ON THIS MATTER.

D. CURRENT POLICY RE THE HOSTAGES. IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE, I NOTED THAT IT WAS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT MILITARY OPERATIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE HAD BEEN SUSPENDED. THE AMBASCONFIDENTIAL.

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SADOR REPLIES: "YES, THEY HAVE HAD TO, THEY ARE NEARLY OUT OF AMMUNITION; THAT EXPLAINS WHY THEY HAVE DEMANDED MORE." I EXPLAINED THAT I MEANT THAT GOZ MILITARY AND SEARCH OPERATIONS HAD BEEN SUSPENDED, PURSUANT TO THE REBELS' DEMANDS, IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD THE LIVES OF THE HOSTAGES, HE DID A DOUBLE-TAKE, THEN REPLIED, "OH YES, THAT TOO." COMMENT: I AM INCLINED TO ATTRIBUTE THIS TO THE FACT THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN PRETTY MUCH OUT OF THE PICTURE SINCE THE DEMANDS APPEARED,

RATHER THAN THAT HE IS AWARE OF CONTINUING OPERATIONS NOTWITH-STANDING THE GOZ ORDER TO SUSPEND THEM.

E. MOTIVES OF THE REBELS. TALKING ABOUT THE REBELS, AMBASSADOR MWANDA SAID THAT HE FELT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO TAKE THE PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE REBELS TOO MUCH AT FACE VALUE, FOR EXAMPLE RE THEIR STATED WILLINGNESS TO KILL THE HOSTAGES SHOULD THEIR DEMANDS NOT BE MET. KABILA AND A FEW OF THE OTHER TOP LEADERS OF THE BAND MIGHT BE WILLING TO DIE FOR THEIR BELIEFS BUT MOST OF THEIR FOLLOWERS WOULD NOT. ONCE PRESSURE ON THE REBEL MOVEMENT INTENSIFIED FURTHER, MOST OF THE MOVEMENT'S FOLLOWERS WOULD RETURN TO GOZ CONTROL AT THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY. I TOOK NOTE OF THIS VIEW, BUT OFFERED THE PERSONAL OBSERVATION THAT IT DID NOT NECESSARILY HOLD OUT HOPE FOR THE HOSTAGES SINCE THEY MUST BE PRESUMED TO BE UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE TOP LEADERSHIP. HE DID NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH THIS OBSERVATION. F. COMMENT: MWANDA HAS BEEN MOST FRIENDLY AND FORTHCOMING. HE RECALLED OUR SEVERAL BRIEF MEETINGS IN ZANZIBAR AND ALSO SPOKE WARMLY OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND OTHER EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN DAR ES SALAAM. HE HAS INDICATED A WILL-INGNESS TO WORK CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE WITH US ON THE EFFORT TO GET THE HOSTAGES RELEASED. UNQUOTE. CARTER

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